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A BULLETIN

ON THE

CONDITION OF THE COUNTY ALMSHOUSES OF MISSOURI

BY

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, PH. D.,
Professor of Sociology

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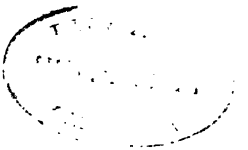

A BULLETIN ON THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTY ALMSHOUSES OF MISSOURI

I.

The Condition of The County Almshouses of Missouri.

Statistics. There is but one method of collecting accurate statistics concerning social conditions; and that is to send experts into the field to gather the information upon the spot. Unfortunately this method was not open to the department of sociology when it undertook to investigate the condition of the county almshouses of Missouri. The desired information had to be obtained by other and less accurate means. Wherever possible a student or alumnus of the University was sent to visit the almshouse about which information was sought; but it was found possible to do this in only about thirty per cent. of the cases. In the remaining cases question blanks were sent to the superintendents of the almshouses with the request that they be filled out and returned to the department. In this way information was received concerning fifty per cent. more of the almshouses. But when no response from the superintendent could be elicited, the information was usually obtained through the county clerk, although in the case

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of three county almshouses all efforts of every sort failed to secure the desired information. Nevertheless, in spite of the relatively crude methods employed in gathering the statistics, there can be no doubt that they present a fairly accurate picture of the actual conditions of Missouri almshouses to-day. Small details, both good and bad, may lie concealed, but the main outlines of the system stand out in clear relief.

The statistics here presented concern ninety of the ninety-three county almshouses of Missouri. Twenty-one counties of Missouri have no almshouses, but still follow the primitive practice of boarding out their paupers (usually very few in number) with farmers. These counties are Benton, Camden, Carter, Dent, Douglass, Dunklin, Gasconade, Hickory, Laclede, McDonald, Madison, Maries, Miller, Oregon, Ozark, Pemiscot, Ripley, Shannon, Taney, Worth, and Wright. St. Louis county also has no almshouse, but sends its paupers to the St. Louis City Poorhouse.

The chief statistics for each almshouse of the ninety concerning which information could be obtained are herewith presented in tabular form, beginning on the following page.

STATISTICS OF MISSOURI ALMSHOUSES, 1903.

County.	Superintendent.	Postoffice.	Number of inmates, sex and race.					Age of inmates.				Defective classes.						Buildings, grounds and expenses.				Management.			
			Total.	Male.	Female.	White.	Colored.	Above 60	Between 18 and 60.	Under 18.	Between 2 and 14.	Insane.	Feeble-minded.	Epileptic.	Blind.	Crippled.	Paralytic.	Acres of land.	Cost of buildings.	Expenses per annum	Cost per week per inmate.	By lease system.	Cells for the insane	Employm't of able-bodied.	Religious services.
Adair	Z. T. Hagans	Kirksville	10	6	4	8	2	7	2	1	....	1	3	....	2	1	..	160	$ 1,000	$ 600	$1.00	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Andrew	Ed. Zimmerman	Savannah	21	9	12	20	1	10	11	....	....	1	4	....	1	1	..	309	1,300	2,000	1.75	No	No	Req.	No..
Atchison	D. B. Marlatt	Rockport	12	7	5	12	....	4	6	2	2	1	2	....	1	1	1	200	1.200	.....	.....	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Audrain	Horace Mundy	Mexico	13	13	....	11	2	4	9	....	....	....	9	....	2	1	..	185	... ...	1,600	.....	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Barry	E. M. Hutchens	Cassville	10	6	4	10	....	3	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	..	40	800	1,800	1.25	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Barton	Smith Long	Lamar	7	3	4	7	....	1	6	....	....	....	5	1	....	3	..	120	1,200	1,090	2.90	Yes	Yes	Req.	No..
Bates	Mary C. Hall	Butler	6	4	2	4	2	....	6	....	....	1	5	....	....	1	1	160	.....	1,100	1.75	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Bollinger	J. M. Austine	Marble Hill	3	1	2	3	....	....	3	....	....	1	1	....	....	1	..	307	.....	600	1.50	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Boone	J. F. Richards	Columbia	30	18	12	20	10	15	14	1	....	7	8	1	2	3	1	160	15,000	3,032	2.00	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Buchanan	J. S. Burris	St. Joseph	83	65	18	75	8	40	43	..	....	5	4	1	2	10	2	229	.....	12,338	2.41	No	No	Op.	Yes..
Butler	W. C. Langley	Poplar Bluff	12	2	10	11	1	3	7	2	2	1	3	....	1	....	..	120	.....	1,000	1.65	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Caldwell	Chas. L. Craig	Kingston	9	6	3	9	....	6	3	....	....	1	4	....	1	1	..	220	.....	815	1.50	No	No	Op.	No..
Callaway	W. H. Conner	Ham's Prairie	31	19	12	24	7	10	21	....	....	5	9	....	2	3	3	360	5,000	1,600	1.50	No	Yes	Req.	Yes..
Cape Girardeau	I. H. Poe	Cape Girardeau	18	7	11	15	3	4	13	1	1	2	9	2	1	1	4	350	3,000	1,350	1.25	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Carroll	J. M. Busby	Carrollton	16	10	6	16	..	5	10	1	1	4	12	....	1	2	..	80	3,000	1,600	1.15	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Cass	J. O. Stine	Peculiar	13	9	4	13	...	6	7	....	....	2	4	....	1	1	..	280	3,000	2,000	1.33	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Cedar	J. W. Brown	Bear Creek	10	5	5	10	....	2	8	....	....	....	2	1	1	1	1	170	780	800	1.75	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Charlton	M. T. Davenport	Dalton	36	19	17	29	7	5	29	2	2	9	7	3	2	2	..	240	2,500	2,811	1.50	No	Yes	Req.	No..
Christian	W. J. McConnell	Ozark	11	4	7	11	....	3	8	....	....	....	9	....	....	2	..	120	2,500	1,000	2.00	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Clark	J. A. Long	Kahoka	15	11	4	14	1	3	11	....	....	1	8	2	1	3	1	30	5,000	1,500	1.05	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Clay	W. W. Squires	Chandler	20	15	5	16	4	9	11	....	....	2	7	1	3	...	..	90	1,000	1,700	1.70	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Clinton	W. S. Ratcliff	Plattsburg	8	4	4	7	1	2	6	....	....	1	2	1	....	....	..	65	10,000	616	1.48	No	No	Op.	No..
Cole	Herman Pringer	Elston	26	12	14	23	3	11	8	7	6	5	13	....	....	3	..	210	10,000	2,636	2.20	No	Yes	Req.	No..
Cooper	J. F. Brownfield	Speed	26	11	15	21	5	3	23	....	..	....	4	2	....	2	..	120	3,500	1,300	1.35	No	No	Req.	No..
Crawford	J. E. Summers	Steelville	8	1	7	8	....	5	3	....	....	....	2	..	2	3	..	100	700	1,350	1.00	No	No	Op.	Yes..
Dade	Lott Evans	Greenfield	12	7	5	11	1	6	6	....	....	....	9	2	1	4	1	212	1,250	1,597	2.00	Yes	Yes	Req.	Yes..
Dallas	J. W. Holden	Buffalo	8	3	5	8	....	2	6	....	..	....	6	....	2	....	..	240	800	600	1.00	Yes	No	Op.	Yes..
Daviess	W. E. Whitt	Gallatin	10	8	2	10	....	4	6	....	....	1	3	....	1	1	..	100	3,000	1,300	2.15	Yes	No	Op.	Yes..
DeKalb	Bert Johnson	Maysville	9	5	4	9	...	3	6	....	....	....	7	1	....	1	..	80	.....	1,000	.....	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Franklin	Wm. Bente	Union	16	9	7	14	2	2	14	....	....	....	1	1	3	1	..	160	4,000	1,339	1.62	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Gentry	O. J. Lewis	Gentry	14	7	7	14	....	8	4	2	2	3	7	....	....	6	..	160	1,500	1,200	1.75	Yes	No	Op.	Yes..

STATISTICS OF MISSOURI ALMSHOUSES, 1903—Continued.

County.	Superintendent.	Postoffice.	Number of inmates, sex and race.					Age of inmates.				Defective classes.						Buildings, grounds and expenses.				Management.			
			Total	Male	Female	White	Colored	Above 60	Between 18 and 60	Under 18	Between 2 and 14	Insane	Feeble-minded	Epileptic	Blind	Crippled	Paralytic	Acres of land	Cost of buildings	Expenses per annum	Cost per week per inmate	By lease system	Cells for the insane	Empl'ym't of able-bodied	Religious services
Greene	J. B. Alsup	Nichols	75	41	34	61	14	26	44	5	5	23	15	9	4	10	..	120	20,000	3,500	1.25	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Grundy	J. E. Hartley	Trenton	10	6	4	10	....	5	5	....	..	....	3	....	2	3	1	80	6,000	1,058	1.30	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Harrison	J. I. Israel	Bethany	23	16	7	23	....	4	18	1	1	13	2	2	....	3	1	119	13,000	1,600	2.00	Yes	Yes	Req.	No..
Henry	J. B. Williams	Clinton	24	14	10	23	1	8	16	....	....	5	7	3	1	3	3	160	....	3,000	....	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Holt	Abner Carson	Oregon	11	11	....	11	....	10	1	....	....	....	3	1	....	4	..	225	.....	1,700	1.50	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Howard	S. T. Mobley	Fayette	20	10	10	11	9	9	9	2	2	3	7	1	....	1	..	300	1,800	750	.....	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Howell	A. J. Rice	West Plains	18	11	7	18	....	3	14	1	1	3	10	...	1	5	1	206	1,200	750	1.00	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Iron	R. C. Love	Ironton	12	7	5	12	....	6	6	....	....	5	7	2	2	1	2	160	1,300	.....	.....	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Jackson	H. P. Truitt	Little Blue	190	120	70	160	30	95	89	6	6	35	38	10	6	17	20	313	.....	18,540	1.50	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Jasper	Mrs. J. L. Noel	Carthage	35	18	17	35	....	9	25	1	....	3	21	1	3	2	1	85	.. ..	3,000	...	No	Yes	Req.	Yes
Jefferson	J. W. Partney	Hillsboro	20	14	6	16	4	9	10	1	1	2	6	1	1	..	..	160	.....	1,600	1.33	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Johnson	J. W. Graham	Warrensburg	16	7	9	13	3	5	10	1	1	2	5	....	2	....	..	180	.....	2,355	1.75	No	Yes	Req.	No..
Knox	John C. Herr	Edina	8	5	3	8	0	3	5	....	....	....	2	....	....	1	..	118	800	875	2.25	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Lafayette	C. O. Kinkead	Lexington	16	9	7	13	3	6	10	....	....	....	8	2	1	1	1	80	.....	1,759	2.25	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Lawrence	J. T. Simbree	Mt. Vernon	31	17	14	29	2	11	14	6	5	4	20	1	3	6	1	160	8,000	1,400	1.00	No	Yes	Op.	No..
Lewis	J. E. Roberts	Canton	40	20	20	33	7	18	20	2	2	15	10	1	1	5	..	240	.. ....	3,000	1.50	No	No	Op.	No..
Lincoln	G. Hammond	Troy	20	12	8	13	7	10	7	3	2	....	3	1	1	2	1	160	.....	1,000	1.50	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Linn	T. M. Davis	Linneus	21	11	10	17	4	3	16	2	2	...	7	3	....	1	2	5	14,000	3,000	.....	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Livingston	J. W. Missenhelter	Chillicothe	32	19	13	29	3	10	22	....	....	5	10	3	3	1	..	27	7,500	1,500	1.50	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Macon	W. A. Patrick	Macon	27	9	18	25	2	9	18	....	..	7	11	3	1	1	..	63	25,000	2,122	1.20	No	Yes	Req.	Yes.
Marion	J. Settles	Palmyra	15	8	7	14	1	3	7	5	3	1	5	2	2	2	..	181	.....	1,600	2.00	Yes	No	Req.	No..
Mercer	J. K. Fugit	Princeton	15	12	3	15	....	7	8	....	....	1	7	2	1	2	1	150	8,000	1,300	1.00	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Mississippi	W. W. Humphreys	Charleston	6	2	4	6	...	1	4	1	1	....	1	....	....	....	1	25	1,000	600	1.50	Yes	No	Op.	Yes.
Moniteau	A. Miller	McGirk	14	6	8	14	....	4	10	..	..	3	4	....	....	4	3	....	1,100	800	2.00	Yes	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Monroe	J. M. McGee	Paris	23	13	10	14	9	6	15	2	2	6	8	....	....	....	..	160	.....	2,600	1.60	Yes	Yes	Req.	Yes..
Montgomery	F. M. Messinger	New Florence	15	7	8	10	5	6	8	1	1	....	....	1	2	4	..	285	3,000	1,000	1.50	No	No	Op.	Yes.
Morgan	C. C. Mariott	Versailles	12	7	5	12	....	5	7	....	..	2	3	....	....	2	..	160	.....	2,000	1.35	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
New Madrid	Paralee Reed	New Madrid	7	5	2	7	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	800	2.00	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Newton	W. H. Sherman	Neosho	37	18	19	35	2	8	28	1	1	6	12	....	2	3	2	120	2,000	2,500	.. ..	No	Yes	Op.	Yes.
Nodaway	W. H. Key	Maryville	24	14	10	24	....	12	12	....	....	6	3	2	....	....	1	160	2,500	1,500	1.00	No	No	Op.	No..
Osage	Joseph Weeks	Linn	9	4	5	9	....	6	3	..	....	....	4	....	....	3	1	10	5,000	750	1.50	No	Yes	Req.	Yes.
Perry	J. E. Kuhlman	Perryville	12	5	7	12	.	4	8	....	....	....	....	2	....	1	..	28	.....	1,000	1.00	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Pettis	H. E. Hatton	Sedalia	21	14	7	20	1	10	10	1	1	....	9	....	1	5	2	80	5,000	3,000	.....	No	No	Op.	Yes.
Phelps	T. B. Matlock	Rolla	11	5	6	11	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	....	....	565	.90	Yes	No	Op.	No..

Pike	E. G. Michie	Ashley	42	19	23	32	10	16	23	3	3	3	6	....	....	3	1	185	.....	2,480	1.16	No	No	Op.	No..
Platte	E. R. Miller	Platte City	11	6	5	11	....	9	1	1	1	....	3	....	1	2	..	80	.....	.....	.....	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Polk	A. C. Barnett	Bolivar	12	6	6	11	....	9	3	....	....	2	3	1	....	1	..	80	.....	1,200	.....	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Pulaski	J. H. Saling	Waynesville	2	1	1	2	...	1	1	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	..	90	1,100	200	2.00	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Putnam	Isaac Clifton	Lemenville	18	8	10	17	1	2	14	2	....	6	3	1	1	2	..	74	8,000	1,800	2.00	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Ralls	J. R. Hulse	Center	9	8	1	7	2	6	3	....	....	2	2	....	....	....	..	254	2,400	1,000	2.00	No	Yes	Op.	No..
Randolph	J. J. Mathis	Huntsville	20	10	10	19	1	7	13	....	....	5	2	1	1	4	..	156	3,000	2,247	2.00	No	Yes	Op.	Yes.
Ray	J. E. Yoakum	Richmond	24	11	13	21	3	6	16	2	2	11	8	3	....	1	1	120	6,000	.....	....	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Reynolds			....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Charles	J. W. Ruenzi	St. Charles,	50	28	22	42	8	20	28	2	....	29	2	2	2	2	..	17	.....	5,700	2.00	No	Yes	Op.	No..
St. Clair			....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Francois	J. W. Watson	Farmington	16	12	4	15	1	5	11	....	....	1	5	....	2	2	..	320	4,000	1,300	1.50	No	No	Op.	No..
Ste. Genevieve	Clovis Morice	Ste. Genovieve	19	12	7	17	2	9	10	....	....	1	6	1	1	2	1	100	.....	2,000	2.00	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Saline	Conrad Oser	Marshall	43	38	5	38	5	14	28	1	1	...	4	..	1	2	..	360	.....	4,166	2.00	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Schuyler	Bennet Wardlow	Lancaster	5	2	3	5	....	3	2	....	..	..	2	..	.	1	..	228	.....	500	1.50	Yes	No	Op.	No.
Scotland	W. A. Gray	Memphis	5	5	..	5	...	3	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	100	.....	500	2.00	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Scott	Wm. Bizzell	Benton	11	7	4	10	1	1	7	3	2	1	....	4	....	2	..	320	5,000	600	.....	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Shelby	John M. Wood	Shelbyville	11	10	1	10	1	5	6	....	....	....	4	1	1	2	..	23	3,000	1,200	1.75	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Stoddard	W. P. Stephens	Bloomfield	11	2	9	11	....	2	8	1	1	....	1	1	1	1	1	160	600	1,250	1.75	Yes	Yes	Req.	Yes.
Stone			....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sullivan	Amos Lewis	Milan	26	16	10	25	1	7	15	4	4	8	13	3	1	....	1	20	10,000	3,000	1.50	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Texas	P. H. Gettys	Houston	14	6	8	14	....	7	5	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	..	150	1,000	1,200	1.50	Yes	Yes	Req.	Yes.
Vernon	D. M. Taul	Walker	14	11	3	14	..	9	4	2	1	1	4	....	1	....	..	160	.... ..	1,200	1.75	No	No	Op.	Yes.
Warren	Thos. Howard	Warrenton	14	7	7	9	5	3	3	3	3	2	5	1	1	...	..	140	.....	.....	.....	No	Yes	Op.	No..
Washington	L.B.Higginbotham	Potosi	6	3	3	5	1	2	4	....	....	....	5	....	..	1	..	320	1,200	.....	1.50	Yes	No	Op.	No..
Wayne	John Lane	Greenville	9	4	5	9	....	2	7	....	....	1	4	2	2	1	..	....	800	700	1.40	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
Webster	W. F. Renner	Marshfield	18	9	9	18	...	4	14	....	....	14	4	2	2	1	..	20	2,000	1,500	1.75	Yes	Yes	Op.	No..
St. Louis City	W. E. Hart	St. Louis	1545	775	770	1463	82	593	885	67	20	884	47	85	22	76	31	50	.....	150,000	2.00	No	Yes	Op.	Yes..
Totals			3348	1819	1529	3056	292	1262	1922	154	92	1177	551	181	114	263	98	....	.....	.....	.....	55 yes 35 no	54 yes 36 no	74 op. 16 req	35 yes 55 no

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The total number of inmates in the ninety almshouses was 3,348, of whom nearly one-half were found in a single institution, the City of St. Louis Poorhouse. The usual preponderance of males, due undoubtedly to the fact that dependent women are less likely to be sent to the poorhouse than dependent men, is exhibited in the Missouri almshouse population, over 54 per cent., or 1819, being males, and a little less than 46 per cent., or 1529, being females. As regards race, 3056 of the inmates are white, while 292 are colored. This makes the proportion of almshouse inmates who are colored a little less than nine per cent. while the colored element in the total population of the State constitutes but a little over five per cent. Classified as regards age, 1262, or 37.7 per cent. of Missouri's almshouse inmates are above sixty years of age; 1932, or 57.7 per cent., are between eighteen and sixty years; and 154, or 4.6 per cent., are under eighteen. It is evident from these figures that in Missouri as elsewhere an undue proportion of the aged end their days in the poorhouse. While persons above sixty years of age constitute but a little over six per cent. of the population of the entire country, they form over thirty-seven per cent. of the population of Missouri's almshouses. The proportion of children and young persons in Missouri's almshouses is not great, although it is much higher than it should be. Of the 154 inmates under eighteen years of age, ninety-two are between two and fourteen years.

If classified according to physical condition, it is evident that very few of the inmates of Missouri's almshouses are able-bodied. Five hundred and nine, or fifteen per cent. were reported as able to do some work, but probably not more than one-third of these might be considered in any proper sense able-bodied. One thousand nine hundred and nine of the inmates, or fifty-seven per cent., are mental defectives, being either insane, feeble-minded, or epileptic. Four hundred and seventy-

five more are reported as blind, crippled, or paralytic. Bearing in mind the large proportion of the aged among the inmates, it seems reasonable to conclude that Missouri's poorhouses are not to any extent places of resort for able-bodied persons who are too lazy or shiftless to support themselves.

The Condition of the Insane. There are 1177 insane persons in Missouri's poorhouses; and of this number three-fourths, or 884, are in the St. Louis City Poorhouse. All but thirty-two of the ninety almshouses reporting have insane inmates. The largest number of these insane are not found in the poorer counties which have poorly equipped almshouses, but in the prosperous counties which have large and relatively costly institutions. There seems to be a movement in the State toward increased almshouse care of the indigent insane. Indeed, the most effective argument for building a new poorhouse often seems to be that the county may "care for its insane at home," and thus save the expense of treatment at a State hospital. Hence it comes about that many of the counties with good almshouses have turned their institutions to a great extent into local insane asylums. The following item which went the rounds of the press of the State in the summer of 1903 illustrates the tendency spoken of:

> "The Ray county court, at its June session, made an order that all of its insane patients should be removed July 1st from the asylum at St. Joseph to the Ray county poor farm. The court figures that the amount paid the asylum for keeping of the patients will more than provide for them at their county farm."

That this movement is a mistake no one at all acquainted with the history of almshouse care of the insane can doubt. The inevitable result of such care everywhere is various degrees of inadequate and brutal treatment ranging downward to the sheerest cruelty. That this is the result of almshouse care of the indigent

insane in Missouri, there is abundant evidence to show. However, in this bulletin we shall confine ourselves to the evidence furnished by student investigators or by the almshouse superintendents themselves. In the first place, we have to note that fifty-four out of the ninety almshouses reporting have cells for the incarceration of the violent insane. Some even have a cell-house which they go so far as to call a "jail." Again, the question was asked whether any sort of mechanical restraint was used to control the insane. Of the forty-eight who answered this question, thirty-seven admitted that mechanical restraint was used. That is, seventy-five per cent. of the almshouses which have insane inmates use mechanical restraint of some sort. And yet it is supposed by some that the insane in our almshouses are never violent! Of course, mechanical restraint employed by a skilled physician may be sometimes of great benefit to the insane; but who would argue that it would be so when used by an average almshouse official?

A third line of evidence as to the condition of the insane in Missouri's almshouses may be furnished by certain quotations taken from the reports of investigators and even of the superintendents themselves. Thus one superintendent says: "Sometimes they are chained to the wall till they are quiet; if too bad they are kept in a room and locked up." An investigator says: "When the insane are violent, they are put in cells, handcuffed, and tied with ropes." Another investigator reports: "One female has to be tied by block and chain." Still another reports: "The insane are locked in cells and at times have been manacled. Their condition is too filthy for adequate description. They are locked in small cells, a stool in each cell, excrement covers all about the stool, building filthy, persons unclean; enough to drive a sane man mad." Finally, in line with the above the following may be quoted from the report

of the Greene county grand jury on the condition of the insane in the Greene county almshouse (December, 1903):

"We found twenty-three insane persons confined in cells, of which there are at least three, two men and one woman, violently insane, that should be consigned to and kept in the asylum, as their condition here requires them to be kept in dark blind cells, and their constant and continual ravings, day and night, are a constant irritation to the other inmates, preventing them from getting the sleep so necessary to people in their condition."

Of course, the almshouse superintendents are not to be blamed for the condition of the insane in the almshouses. They have to manage as best they can the persons who are turned over to them by the county authorities; and usually they are conscientious in the performance of their duties. The blame ultimately rests with the people of the whole State who permit by law the commitment of the indigent insane to almshouses; and the only remedy is legislation prohibiting such commitments and providing for the gradual enlargement of our State Hospital facilities, so that in time all insane may be cared for in State institutions.

The Condition of Other Defectives. In addition to the insane there are 551 feeble-minded persons and 181 epileptics in the almshouses of Missouri. These numbers probably understate rather than overstate the proportion of the almshouse population which belongs to these classes, as many cases of feeble-mindedness would not be recognized except by experts. From ten to fifteen per cent. of the feeble-minded are helpless idiots. The condition of these, of course, is equally as bad as the condition of the insane. As for the higher grades of the feeble-minded it may not be so evident that their presence in the almshouses is to be condemned. But from the social point of view they need, equally with the insane, separate treatment in special institu-

tions. Their presence in the almshouses is a menace to society because their affiiction is hereditary. The investigation revealed at least two instances in which feeble-minded women had become mothers of illegitimate children while inmates of almshouses.

As for the epileptics, it need only be said that their presence in the almshouses is a hardship to them and to the other inmates. The almshouse surroundings are such as to aggravate their disease and to preclude all possibility of their cure; again, they are often dangerous and their presence is necessarily unpleasant to other inmates. The epileptics in our almshouses should therefore, be sent to a State hospital or colony especially provided for them.

There are in addition to these mental defectives a large number of physical defectives in our almshouses. The reports show 263 cripples, 114 blind persons, and 98 paralytics. Under the existing differentiation of our chairitable institutions these persons are where they belong. But if the almshouse is to be made a comfortable home for these infirm classes and for the aged worthy poor, it must be freed from the classes which it can not properly care for. Furthermore, it must have special provisions for the care of the sick and the infirm both in its construction and management. Only two almshouses in the State have nurses for the care of the sick (Jackson county and St. Louis city), and these are not trained nurses. The superintendent's wife is usually matron, and is supposed to look after the sick; but on account of her other duties she can do little or no nursing. Practically, then, the only nursing which is done in our almshouses, both in the urban and in the rural counties, is that which is done by the paupers themselves.

The Condition of Children. Statistics already quoted show that there are 154 persons under eighteen

years of age in the almshouses of Missouri, ninety-two of these being between the ages of two and fourteen. The chief reason why there are not more children in Missouri's poorhouses is that the Missouri Children's Home Society is extremely active in taking children from the poorhouses and placing them in good families. Probably not more than one-half of the children between two and fourteen years which remain in the almshouses of the State are healthy children, the remaining half being feeble-minded, epileptic, physically deformed or diseased children who can not be placed in private families. Again, the few healthy children to be found in the almshouses are usually there in company with one or both their parents, in which case it is difficult for the Children's Home Society to get possession of the children. Of course, the defective children should be sent to the special institutions which exist for them, the feeble-minded and the epileptic to the State Colony for the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic at Marshall, and the blind to the State School for the Blind at St. Louis. The county authorities should understand that these institutions exist especially for the care of defective children of these classes; and that they are there cared for and educated at the expense of the State if they are indigent. The problem of disposing of the deformed and diseased children in our almshouses is not so easy, seeing that there exists no public institution especially for them. But it would seem that the county authorities should if possible commit them to private hospitals, or else send them to the hospital of the medical school of the University of Missouri, for treatment. The only effective remedy for the evil of allowing children to remain in our almshouses, however, is legislation which shall prohibit their detention in almshouses for a period longer than one month.

Buildings and Grounds. Only twelve counties in

Missouri have almshouse buildings costing $10,000 or more, viz.: Boone, Buchanan, Clinton, Cole, Greene, Harrison, Jackson, Linn, Macon, St. Charles, Sullivan, and St. Louis city. Eleven other counties report buildings costing between $5,000 and $10,000. In all the other counties reporting the almshouse buildings cost less than $5,000; and in twenty-one out of the sixty the cost of the building used as an almshouse was less than $1,500. In other words, it is probable that at least one-third of the county almshouses have cost to build them less than $1,500!

The "cottage plan" of construction is supposed to be the best for almshouses. There is only one almshouse in Missouri built consistently upon this plan, and that is the Pike county almshouse. Unfortunately, however, in this case the cottages are built of wood and are without modern improvements. Pettis, Daviess, and one or two other counties have almshouses approaching this type. Fifteen counties have almshouses of the "institutional" type—one or more large buildings several stories in height. Practically all the other almshouses of the State are old farmhouses in different stages of repair.

The actual fitness of almshouse buildings for their work may perhaps better be judged by their sanitary arrangements than in any other way, since sanitary arrangements are so important in dealing with the infirm and helpless classes found in the almshouses. Only five almshouses in the State may be said to have fully modern arrangements for heating lighting, ventilation, bathing facilities, closets and sewerage, viz.: Buchanan, Jackson, Macon, Putnam and St. Louis city. Seven other counties have almshouses with nearly or partly modern sanitary arrangements; viz.: Boone, Clinton, Greene, Harrison, Linn, Livingston, Pettis, St. Charles, and Sullivan. The remaining almshouses of the State have only such sanitary arrangements as are found at

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an ordinary farmhouse. Such primitive arrangements may, of course, answer very well, where the number in the almshouse is small, not larger than an ordinary family; but it is manifest that where a large number of sick and infirm people are brought together the best sanitary arrangements are needed.

The superintendents of the almshouses in their reports to the department often show consciousness of the inadequacy of their facilities. One writes: "This county has very poor accommodations for its inmates; while there are not many still they are human." Another writes: "The equipments of the house are not what they should be * * * not convenient for keeping the class of people who go to poor farms." Another says, regarding the farm connected with the almshouse: "My opinion of the county farm is that it is a poor farm, sure enough."

This brings us to a consideration of the amount of land which should be associated with the almshouse. The prevalent idea in Missouri of what a county almshouse should be is expressed in its most common name, "county poor farm." The idea is, not only that a farm should be associated with the almshouse, but that the institution should be made as nearly self-supporting as possible through the labor of the paupers. Hence, we find many county almshouses with large farms attached. Of the eighty-five which reported the amount of their land, twenty-eight had over 160 acres, forty-five had between fifty and 160 acres, and twelve had under fifty acres. It is doubtful whether a large amount of land should be associated with an almshouse. As was shown above, only a few of the poorhouse inmates are able-bodied; therefore, the idea that the institution may be rendered self-supporting through the labor of its inmates is fallacious. Again, if the amount of land is large the superintendent has to spend nearly all of his time in managing the farm to the neglect of the inmates.

Further, the economy of a large farm in connection with the almshouse is now questionable on account of the cheapness with which supplies may be purchased. It has, at any rate, been demonstrated that an institution, with a small amount of land can be run as cheaply as one with a much larger amount. Finally, the weightiest argument against the large farm in connection with the almshouse is that it usually necessitates locating the almshouse far in the country where it and its inmates can be but seldom visited. A small farm near the county seat is, therefore, preferable to a large one several miles in the country. Probably the proper size of farm for an average Missouri almshouse would be about fifty acres, though, of course, the size should vary according to the number of inmates and other circumstances. In any case it should be large enough to furnish labor for all able-bodied inmates and to supply the acreage needed for gardening and grounds.

Management. The most striking, and at the same time the most regrettable, feature of almshouse management in Missouri is that most of the almshouses are managed by what may be called the "lease system." That is, the management of the almshouse is let out to the lowest bidder, or, as it is usually reported, "to the lowest and best bidder." If the county court, which in Missouri is the legal board of managers of all county institutions, does not openly advertise for bids, it nevertheless usually lets out the care of the almshouse and its inmates at so much per inmate per week. Only in thirty-five counties of the State is the almshouse superintendent paid a fixed salary. In the remaining counties the lease system, under one form or another, prevails.

This "lease system," making, as it does, the wages of the superintendent dependent upon what he can save from the inmates, is doubtless responsible for many of

the worst conditions in our almshouses. Many of the superintendents working under it express their disapproval of it. Thus one writes: "The plan used in this county does not meet my approval." Another candidly details the workings of the system as follows: "A few years ago the poor were let at $38.00 per head per year. Under that treatment there were nine out of nineteen that died, and the county had to pay doctor's bill and burial expenses which cost more than board and clothes. They now pay $72.00 a head per year, and see that it is cheaper and more humane." This is truly a record of progress under the "lease system;" we wish that we could record that that particular county had progressed so far as to pay its superintendent a fixed salary.

As regards the relative cheapness of the two systems, there can be no doubt that the poor can be cared for quite as cheaply with humane and modern methods under officials at fixed salaries as under the lease system. There are many counties paying as high as two dollars per week for each pauper under the lease system and getting poor service; while there are other counties which have modern buildings and pay their superintendents fixed salaries, and yet support their poor in comfort at a less total expenditure per capita. The experience of a single Missouri county will serve to illustrate this. Clinton county, which has now one of the best almshouses in the State, formerly cared for its paupers under the lease system. The superintendent writes as follows: "It has proven more satisfactory to hire the superintendent by the year than to let the inmates out to the lowest bidder. This county has tried both ways and the county court found it most satisfactory to hire the superintendent and furnish the supplies. The net expense for each inmate last year was $1.48 per week; before they changed from boarding them out it

was about $2.00 per week. So it is cheaper in this county than letting them to the lowest bidder."

Nobody claims that the lease system is humane; if it is not cheaper, the only argument in its defense falls. There is no reason, then, why there should not be at once mandatory legislation prohibiting this form of caring for the poor in Missouri; and this is an indispensable step in the reform of our almshouse system.

Of the thirty-five counties which pay their superintendents fixed salaries only eight pay salaries higher than $600, and four out of these are urban counties; twenty counties pay their superintendent salaries varying from $400 to $600 inclusive; five counties pay under $400; and two do not report the amount. From this it would seem probable that the average Missouri county would find no trouble in procuring a good man to manage its almshouse for a salary of $600 a year in addition to the keeping of his family.

The average annual expense of eighty-one almshouses situated in rural counties is a trifle over $1,600 each. The total cost of the ninety almshouses not situated in the counties which contain our three large cities is about $145,000 per annum. The aggregate cost of the Jackson county, Buchanan county and St. Louis city almshouses per annum is about $180,000. Thus the total cost of the almshouse system to the taxpayers of the State is over $300,000 a year. The financial management of each almshouse is perhaps best indicated by the average cost per inmate per week. In this matter there is great variation between Missouri almshouses, the lowest cost per inmate per week reported being ninety cents, the highest $2.90. However, in the majority of the almshouses the cost of supporting each inmate per week lies between these two extremes. In forty-six out of seventy-five almshouses reporting the average cost of caring for each inmate a week ranges from $1.50 to $2.00

inclusive. In twenty-three of the almshouses, it was under $1.50 and only in six was it over $2.00 per week.

One of the most important matters in the management of an almshouse is the proper classification of the inmates. By this is meant the entire separation of certain classes of inmates from other classes, communication and association being allowed only under certain circumstances with the consent of the superintendent. Such classification and separation is universally recognized by experts as the essential basis of successful almshouse administration. The most fundamental of these classifications is that of sex. The two sexes should of course be absolutely separated from each other in the almshouse, save only in the case of aged married couples. A scarcely less fundamental classification is that of race. Still other classifications should be made according to the age, health, character, and condition of the inmates.

It is too much to say that classification does not exist in the majority of Missouri's almshouses; but in all save a few it is very imperfectly developed. In fourteen of the ninety reporting, there is no classification at all—not even separation of the sexes. In the remaining there is separation of the sexes, but in many instances it is to be feared that this separation is not very strict. In fifty out of these seventy-six almshouses separation of the sexes is the only classification attempted. Twenty separate both sexes and races. Twenty-eight counties have separate buildings for colored inmates, a few counties having these which have at present no colored persons in their almshouses. Of the sixty-two counties which do not make separate provision for the colored people thirty-four have no colored inmates, and of the twenty-eight which have colored inmates, but do not make separate provision, seventeen have less than three colored inmates. Three almshouses report a classification according to sex and condition. Finally, three

almshouses report a classification according to sex, race, age, and character. These three are the almshouses of Jackson, Clinton, and Macon counties, which alone of all the county almshouses of the State may be said to have an adequate classification.

Another very important matter in the management of an almshouse is the enforcement of the "work test;" that is, the compelling of the able-bodied inmates to work. If the almshouse is to be made a comfortable home for the aged and infirm poor, in order that it may not be an attractive place for the lazy and shiftless able-bodied, there should be a vigorous compulsion to work. In other words, work should be required of all able-bodied inmates. It is disappointing, therefore, to find that only in a few Missouri almshouses is there a work-test in force. In sixteen only of the ninety reporting is labor required; the remaining seventy-four report that it is optional.

The regulations regarding admission and discharge of inmates are also important in the management of an almshouse. In nearly all counties the county court or some member thereof has officially to decide upon the admission of an inmate, but in some counties the superintendent of the almshouse also has power to admit inmates provisionally at least. In only three or four counties do there appear to be definite regulations as to what entitles a person to receive relief in the almshouse. These counties require complete destitution on the part of the applicant, and inability of either children or parents, if any, to provide support. It is needless to say that these regulations should be enforced in every county, and in addition there should be some investigation to ascertain whether the facts are as alleged. The rules regarding the discharge of inmates seem to be even more lax than those regarding the admission of inmates. In most instances the inmate is allowed to

discharge himself without notice, provided of course that he is not detained as insane.

Finally, a matter which should be considered certainly of some importance in almshouse management is what is done to brighten and cheer the lives of the inmates. Even in our large city almshouses it is to be feared that not much is done in this way. Only a single almshouse in Missouri, for instance, has a library, and that is Jackson county almshouse, a library for which was provided by a few philanthropic women of Kansas City. Nearly all the almshouses report that newspapers are taken, but the extent to which they are taken is not known. Amusements and recreation for the inmates seem almost entirely lacking; and even work is not systematically provided for all who wish to work to pass away the time. Of the ninety almshouses reporting, fifty-five have no religious services whatsoever, twenty-five have only occasional religious services, and only ten have regular services, six of these, however, being monthly.

Model Almshouses. Strictly speaking, the model almshouse still remains to be built in Missouri. However, several counties have almshouses so good that they may well be pointed out as models for other counties to imitate. Only almshouses in rural counties are here considered. Probably the best almshouse in a rural county in the State is the Macon county almshouse. Not only is its cost greater than any other ($25,000), but it seems best adapted to its work. The second best almshouse in the State in a rural county is probably that of Clinton county. Boone county has also a good building, though in some ways it is not well adapted to its purpose and its sanitation is poor. Among other counties which have almshouses that might to some extent be considered as models are Cole, Harrison, Putnam, and Sullivan.

Progress During 1903. Some commendable signs of progress have been shown as regards almshouse conditions during the past year. A number of counties have agitated the matter of erecting new almshouses. This has resulted successfully in at least two counties. Johnson county has decided to build a model almshouse in all respects, which it will call a "County Home," a name which certainly deserves to be largely copied. St. Francois county has also resolved to erect a new $8,000 building. At least two counties have changed from the "lease system" to paying the superintendent a fixed salary. The greatest step in advance, however, has been the appointment of county Boards of Visitors in several counties according to the terms of the Act of 1903, which makes it obligatory for the circuit judge to appoint such a board for any county whenever fifteen reputable citizens of the county shall petition that such a board be appointed. The duties of such a board are to visit and inspect the county's charitable and correctional institutions and report their condition quarterly to the State Board of Charities, the county court and the circuit judge. Such boards of visitors have already been appointed in the following counties: Andrew, Barton, Benton, Boone, Butler, Daviess, DeKalb, Dunklin, Callaway, Clay, Clinton, Gentry, Harrison, Jasper, Linn, Livingston, Jefferson, Platte, Mercer, Nodaway, Grundy, Putnam, Ripley, St. Clair, St. Francois, St. Louis, Stoddard and Washington. These boards have already accomplished much good in the short time that they have been in existence, and they promise to do much more wherever created. For example, the Board of Visitors in St. Francois county secured the abolition of the "lease-system" and the decision to erect a new almshouse. It is to be hoped that the next legislature will make the law mandatory and thereby secure the appointment of such boards in all the counties of the State.

II.

A Brief Summary of the Principles Which Should Govern Almshouse Administration.

It is universally recognized by those who have studied almshouse administration that the almshouse is not fitted to care for those classes of dependents who require special or scientific treatment. By its very nature the almshouse is a small local institution which cannot be expected to have at its head an official with professional training and experience. Therefore, certain classes who need special care involving special knowledge should not be committed to the almshouse. These classes include children, delinquents, the insane, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the blind, and the deaf-mutes. Let us consider in the order given the reasons why these classes should be excluded from the almshouses.

1. Children above the age of babyhood should never be committed to an almshouse because the child through its imitative nature readily takes on the taint of pauper surroundings which cling to it through life; and because the education of no child can be properly conducted in an almshouse.

2. Tramps and disorderly persons should never be committed to an almshouse, as the almshouse is not a correctional institution and cannot properly deal with delinquent persons, while their mere presence in the institution brings it into such ill repute that the self-respecting poor shun it even in the direst extremities.

3. Perhaps the presence of no other class in the almshouse gives rise to such grave abuses as the presence of the insane. Because the insane need the medical care of specialists, skilled attendants, cheerful surroundings, and a scientific diet, all of which are lacking in an almshouse, their condition often becomes very

pitiable. This neglect easily shades off into the brutality of leaving the insane dirty and half-naked, confined in steel or wooden cells. Insane persons should, therefore, never be committed to the almshouse, and those who become insane after commitment should be speedily removed.

4. Epileptics should not be committed to an almshouse, because like the insane they need special medical care and treatment, through which their condition is always improved and permanent recovery sometimes effected. As all epileptics become insane if their disease is neglected, the same objections to almshouse care are applicable in their case as in the case of the insane.

5. Feeble-minded persons should not be kept in almshouses, because their presence there is both a hardship to the other inmates and a danger to the community. No almshouse is properly equipped to care for and restrain idiotic and feeble-minded persons, while the loose rules of admission and discharge allow such persons to go and come as they please, which is a danger to the community. This is especially a danger in the case of feeble-minded women who, under such lax care, almost invariably become mothers, and so transmit their defect to succeeding generations. Feeble-minded children should, of course, be put into special institutions where, through training, they may be often much improved.

6. The desirability of removing blind and deaf-mute children from the almshouses to special institutions for their instruction was early recognized; but the desirability of special institutions for dependent adults of these classes is also now admitted. Certainly the legislation for removing blind and deaf-mute children from our almshouses should be enforced.

By the exclusion of all classes from the almshouse, which require special scientific treatment, the true function of the almshouse discloses itself. Manifestly the

class which remains for almshouse care is the aged and infirm poor. In every old-settled community this class, which requires no scientific treatment, is sufficiently large, and it should be the function of the almshouse to provide a home for them.

Even after classifying so many classes of dependents *out* of the almshouse we still will not have a properly administered institution unless there is classification *within* the almshouse. It is generally recognized that a good almshouse should classify its inmates in at least four different ways. The first and most important classification is in regard to sex. The sexes should be absolutely separated from each other, and if possible housed in different buildings, if the institution is to be kept free from scandal. A second classification, which should not be neglected, is in regard to color. Fully carried out this would result in duplicate institutions, one for whites and one for colored. At the least, it would mean a separate building for the colored if they numbered more than three or four. A third necessary classification is in regard to health. This means that there should be special provision for the sick, and isolation of those who have contagious diseases, such as consumption. The fourth classification which should be made is in regard to mental and moral condition. This means that persons who are congenial should be grouped together and that some persons should be given a room alone.

Even in an ideal almshouse at least this much classification is necessary. But in case the classes above spoken of have not been removed from the almshouse much further classification is required. There should then be isolation of the mentally defective and special provision to keep the children from being contaminated by the other inmates.

The question of classifying properly the inmates of the almshouse brings us to the question of the proper

construction of the almshouse. It is now generally agreed that the cottage plan of construction is best. There are many disadvantages to a single large building, not the least of which is that it does not make easy proper classification and separation of the inmates. For an average Missouri county the almshouse should consist of three cottages, one for the female inmates, one for the males, and one for the superintendent's family. The cottages for the inmates should be built to accommodate from ten to twenty-five persons, and should have both dormitories and single rooms to allow for proper classification of the inmates. The cottage for the superintendent's family would, of course, be smaller. If needed, a fourth cottage for the colored inmates should be added. The whole institution should be equipped with the best modern sanitary arrangements and should preferably be heated by a central plant. The average cost of such an institution, if built of brick, would not be above $15,000.

Of course, the care of the almshouse and its inmates should not be let out to the lowest bidder, as is done in about two-thirds of the counties of our State. This "farming out" of the poor, as it is called, gives rise to serious abuses wherever practiced. The proper method is to hire a competent man as superintendent at a fixed salary, and then furnish supplies as needed for the institution by requisitions on the county authorities.

As to management, the most important matter, after those already mentioned, is in regard to the admission and discharge of inmates. The "work-test" should be rigidly enforced; that is, no able-bodied persons should be admitted without being required to work. Only thus can idle and vicious persons, like tramps, be effectually excluded. Inmates should, also, not be permitted to discharge themselves, and should be released

only when there is some assurance that they will be properly cared for outside of the institution.

Work should be furnished for all able and willing to work. This should be done, not so much for economy, as on the general principle that the normal person is happier and more content when occupied than when idle. As noted above, in the case of the able-bodied work should be *required,* not optional. Recreation and amusements should not be wholly neglected. For this reason newspapers and books ought to be found in every almshouse, and simple entertainments should be occasionally provided for the inmates. Especially ought there to be regular religious services of some sort, if possible, weekly.

If these recommendations can be carried out, the almshouse under a humane and intelligent superintendent may yet become a genuine institution of philanthropy, where the respectable aged and infirm poor may find a home such as enlightened Christian sympathy would give them.

III.

Almshouse Abuses and Their Correction.

(Extracts from a paper read by Charles A. Ellwood, Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri, at the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Atlanta, Ga., 1903.)

To the practical philanthropist, who has not narrowed his interest to a locality, a sect, or a class, there is no more important problem than that of the correction of abuses in our county and municipal institutions, and especially abuses in the management of our county almshouses.

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The conditions in Missouri are by no means exceptional. They simply illustrate the conditions which obtain in many States. What efforts, then, can be made

to improve these conditions and correct these errors? First, there are certain abuses in the management of almshouses which may be corrected through the visitation of local boards of visitors; second, there are abuses which may be corrected through inspection by State officials; third, there are abuses which can only be corrected through mandatory and prohibitive legislation. That frequent and persistent visitation of the almshouse by local committees can accomplish much good is beyond question. It is an efficient means of enlisting the interest of a number of intelligent citizens in each county in the almshouse problem, and so furnishes the basis for agitation for proper legislation. If their visits are frequent enough (they should not be less often than once a month) such local boards can easily bring about in the almshouse humane treatment of the inmates, cleanliness of persons and premises, better care of the sick, and many other minor reforms. Further, they can aid in providing reading matter, work, recreation, and religious services for the inmates, and their interest in the almshouse will always be indispensable for insuring the best possible management.

The laws of New York, Ohio and other States provide for such local boards of visitors; and the last General Assembly of Missouri passed a law providing for such county boards of visitors, from which many good results are expected to flow. But in States which have not such laws this work of visiting the almshouses can be inaugurated in any county by a few philanthropic men and women.

But local boards of visitors, whether authorized by law or not, because they are local and made up of ordinary citizens, not of experts, cannot effect such reforms in the almshouses of a State as the inauguration of an adequate system of classification, the erection of modern buildings adapted to such classification and the exclusion of classes which should not be in almshouses. In

part, such reforms may be brought about through State inspection and supervision by the State Board of Charities. I do not mean occasional visits by members of the State Board of Charities (which in my opinion accomplish little), but the systematic visitation and inspection of all the almshouses in the State at least once each year by the secretary of the State board or by a special inspector working under him. The value of such investigation is great.

The inspector, being the representative of the State and at the same time an expert, is in a position to suggest and gradually enforce an adequate system of classification of inmates in the almshouse, and to advise about the construction of new almshouses. He would also be able perhaps to influence the county authorities to appoint better men as superintendents, to make more rigorous rules regarding the admission and discharge of inmates, and to require work of all able-bodied inmates. Finally, he might exercise considerable influence in securing the removal from the almshouses of certain classes of inmates who should be cared for in special institutions, such as the insane, the feeble-minded and the children.

But here the limitations of State inspection and supervision without the support of mandatory legislation begin to become manifest. The chief value of inspection then is that it is a step toward securing definite legislation.

Let us consider a few of the abuses which require for their correction such legislation. In States where the cost of caring for the indigent insane devolves upon the county, experience shows that it is impossible to get counties to send all of their insane to State hospitals, since the support of an indigent insane person in a State hospital costs always about twice as much as in the county almshouse.

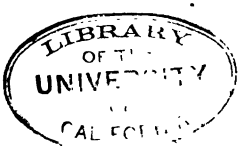
Legislation of one sort or another is, then, neces-

sary to get the insane out of the almshouses. Either the State must declare the insane to be State wards, taking upon itself the burden of supporting the indigent insane, or it must prohibit the keeping of the indigent insane in almshouses and make obligatory their commitment to State hospitals. The case with the feeble-minded and epileptic is practically the same. Again, inspection and the efforts of philanthropic societies, will not suffice to keep children, either defectives or normal, out of almshouses, but definite prohibitive legislation is necessary. Finally, it is idle to talk of improving conditions and correcting errors in the management of almshouses by inspection and visitation as long as the system of management permitted by law is that of "farming out" the care of the inmates to the lowest bidder or to some one who has a political pull. Under such a vicious system, visitation and inspection can accomplish little except as they result in agitation for legislative prohibition of the "farming out" system.

But how can these three methods of improving conditions in almshouses, visitation, inspection and legislative enactment, be put practically into effect in States where none of these exist? The answer is, the order of evolution is that indicated. First must come the visitation of the almshouses by self-appointed local committees of philanthropic men or women. If a State Board of Charities exists, the agitation can best be carried on through that body, first to obtain State inspection and then definite legislation. But in States where no State Board exists, philanthropic workers need not be discouraged. A general educational campaign can be carried on, visitation can be spread from county to county, and even State inspection can be undertaken by a voluntary State organization, such as a "State Charities Aid Association," though above all efforts should be concentrated on the securing of a State Board of Charities of the supervisory type. Educational institu-

tions, especially State universities, have here a duty to perform. If university extension work is needed in literature, science and agriculture, how much more is it needed in practical philanthropy.

In conclusion, let me point to the instructive experience of England. The workhouses of England (which correspond to our almshouses) are kept in their perfect condition through the three methods which I have discussed—visitation by local boards of visitors, inspection by State officials, and centralized legislative and executive control. The English government has found that none of these methods can be dispensed with if the administration of its workhouses is to be the best possible. It has found, too, that a more and more centralized system of control of workhouse administration is necessary; and this I believe will be found necessary also in this country in order to correct completely the errors and abuses in the management of our county almshouses.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